

Rulers of the Latin East

BALDWIN I OF JERUSALEM, 1100–1118

Susan B. Edgington



Baldwin I of Jerusalem, 1100–1118

Baldwin of Boulogne was born the youngest of three sons and marked out for a clerical career, yet in turn he became a First Crusader, first Latin count of Edessa and the founder of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. Nevertheless, remarkably, he has never been the subject of a full-length biography. This study examines in detail the stages of Baldwin's career, returning to the contemporary evidence to discover the qualities that enabled him not only to succeed his brother as ruler in 1100 but to maintain and expand the new kingdom of Jerusalem through the next eighteen years in the face of aggression from Muslim enemies and rivalry from fellow crusaders.

Susan B. Edgington is a teaching and research fellow at Queen Mary University of London. She has written extensively on many aspects of the Crusades, but it is her close familiarity with the Latin sources for the period in question, 1095–1118, that uniquely qualifies her to write this biography. She is the editor and translator of *Albert of Aachen's Historia Ierosolimitana* (Oxford, 2007), and translator (with Thomas S. Asbridge) of *Walter the Chancellor's The Antiochene Wars* (Aldershot, 1999), (with Carol Sweetenham) of *The Chanson d'Antioche* (Farnham, 2011) and (with Steven Biddlecombe) of *Baldric of Bourgueil's History of the Jerusalemmites* (Woodbridge, forthcoming). Her critical comparison of the relationship of Bartolf of Nangis's *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* with the chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres (*Crusades* 13, 2014) will lead to a new edition and translation of this important source.

Rulers of the Latin East

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Academics concerned with the history of the Crusades and the Latin East will be familiar with the various survey histories that have been produced for this fascinating topic. Many historians have published wide-ranging texts that either seek to make sense of the strange phenomenon that was the Crusades or shed light upon the Christian territories of the Latin East. Such panoramic works have helped to generate enormous interest in this subject, but they can only take their readers so far. Works addressing the lives of individual rulers – whether kings, queens, counts, princes or patriarchs – are less common and yet are needed if we are to achieve a more detailed understanding of this period.

This series seeks to address this need by stimulating a collection of political biographies of the men and women who ruled the Latin East between 1098 and 1291 and the kingdom of Cyprus up to 1571. These focus in detail upon the evolving political and diplomatic events of this period, whilst shedding light upon more thematic issues such as: gender and marriage, intellectual life, kingship and governance, military history and inter-faith relations.

Baldwin I of Jerusalem, 1100–1118

Susan B. Edgington

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Duke of Lower Lotharingia, Ruler of Latin Jerusalem,

c.1060–1100

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Baldwin I of Jerusalem, 1100–1118

Susan B. Edgington

First published 2019
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa
business*

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN: 978-1-4724-3356-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-56864-5 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman

by Apex CoVantage, LLC

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Abbreviations

- AA Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007)
- AK Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, trans. E.R.A. Sewter, rev. Peter Frankopan (London, 2009)
- AS ‘The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle’, ed. and trans. A. S. Tritton and H.A.R. Gibb, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 92 (1933), 69–102, 273–306
- BN Bartolf of Nangis, ‘*Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium*’, *RHC Occ*, III: 491–543
- F-E *Frutolfs und Ekkehards Chroniken und die Anonyme Kaiserchronik*, ed. Franz-Josef Schmale and Irene Schmale-Ott (Darmstadt, 1972)
- FC Fulcher of Chartres, ‘*Historia Hierosolymitana*’, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), *RHC Occ*, III: 311–485
- GF *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962)
- GN Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, CCCM 127A (Turnhout, 1996)
- HP ‘*Historia peregrinorum euntium Jerusolymam*’, *RHC Occ*, III: 169–229
- IA *Ibn al-Athir: The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi’l-Ta’rikh AH495*, ed. D. S. Richards, 3 vols (Aldershot, 2006–2008)
- IQ *Ibn Al-Qalānīsī: The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades: Extracted and Translated from the Chronicle of Ibn Al-Qalānīsī*, trans. H.A.R. Gibb (London, 1932)
- ME Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, trans. Ara E. Dostourian (Lanham, 1993)
- MGH SS Monumenta Germaniae Historica, *Scriptores*, ed. G. H. Pertz et al., 32 vols (Hanover, Weimar, Stuttgart and Cologne, 1826–1834)
- MS Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d’Antioche (1166–1199)*, ed. and trans. Jean-Baptiste Chabot, 5 vols (Paris, 1899–1924)

x *Abbreviations*

- OV Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969–1980)
- RA Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1969)
- RC Ralph of Caen, 'Gesta Tancredi', *RHC Occ*, III: 587–716
- RHC Occ* *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 5 vols (Paris, 1844–1895)
- RRR *Revised Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani Database*, <http://crusades-regesta.com>
- UKJ *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer, 4 vols (Hanover, 2010)
- WC *Galterii Cancellarii: Bella Antiochena*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1896)
- WM William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and trans. R.A.B. Mynors, Rodney M. Thomson and Michael Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford, 1998–1999)
- WT William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, CCCM 63–63A, 2 vols (Turnhout, 1986)

Preface

First of all I want to thank the series editors, Jonathan Phillips and Nicolas Morton, for encouraging me to write this volume and for their patience in waiting for its completion once I realised just how big a task I was taking on. As ever I have incurred enormous debts of gratitude to institutions and individuals that I acknowledge here. A number of libraries have been very helpful, including Cambridge University, the Institute of Historical Research, Reading University and the Warburg. My 'home' institution, Queen Mary University of London, has facilitated my research in many ways. Chris Worthington has once more prepared the maps. Thomas Asbridge read early drafts and offered advice for improvement. There is a wonderfully supportive community of people working on the Crusades and the Latin East, many of whom I meet at the Monday seminars at the Institute of Historical Research and events organised by the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. I am grateful to all of them, but especially to the following individuals who have responded, often within minutes, to emailed SOSs: Matthew Barber; Betty Binysh; Andrew Buck; Martin Hall; Simon John; Robert Kool; Katherine Lewis; Alan Murray; Jay Rubenstein; Iris Shagrir; Carol Sweetenham; Steven Tibble.

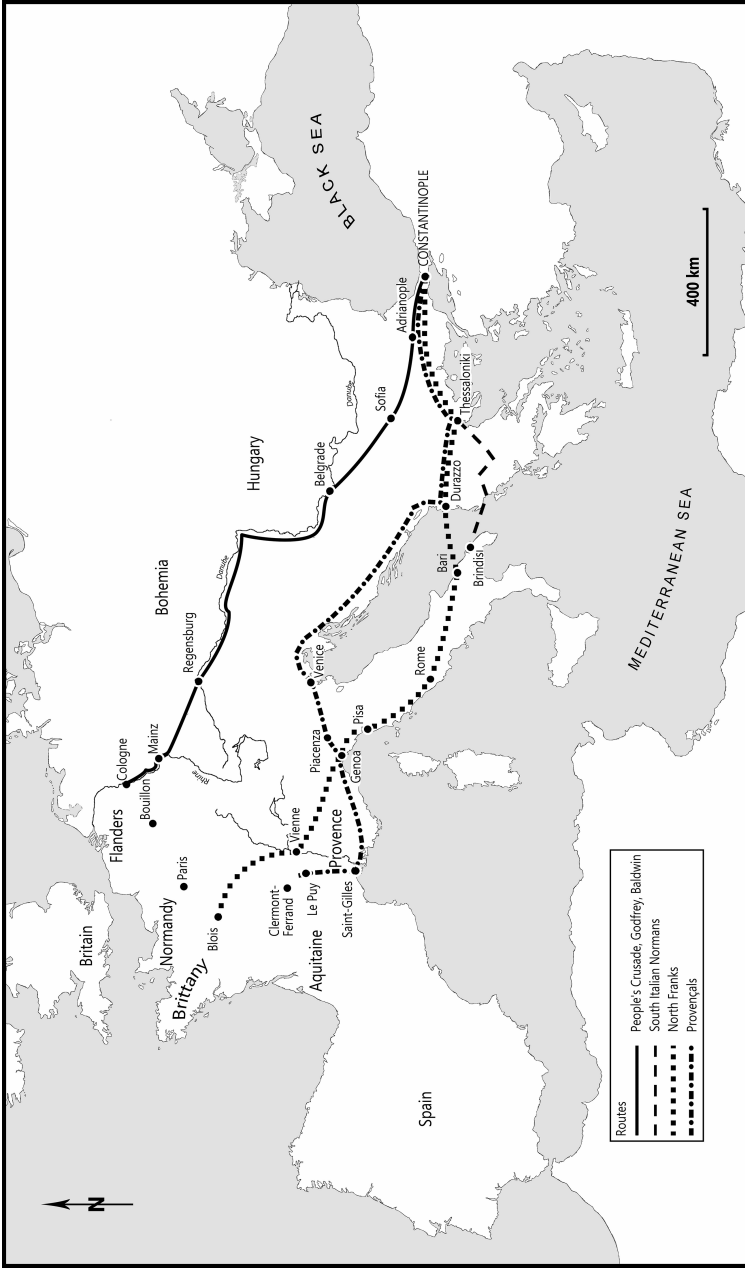
My family, as always, has provided both distraction and encouragement. Without the first I might have finished the book sooner; without the second I might not have completed it at all. Thank you all: Ben, Penny, Hannah and Rebekah Edgington; Rebecca, Mike, Emma and Annie Richardson.

SBE
December 2018

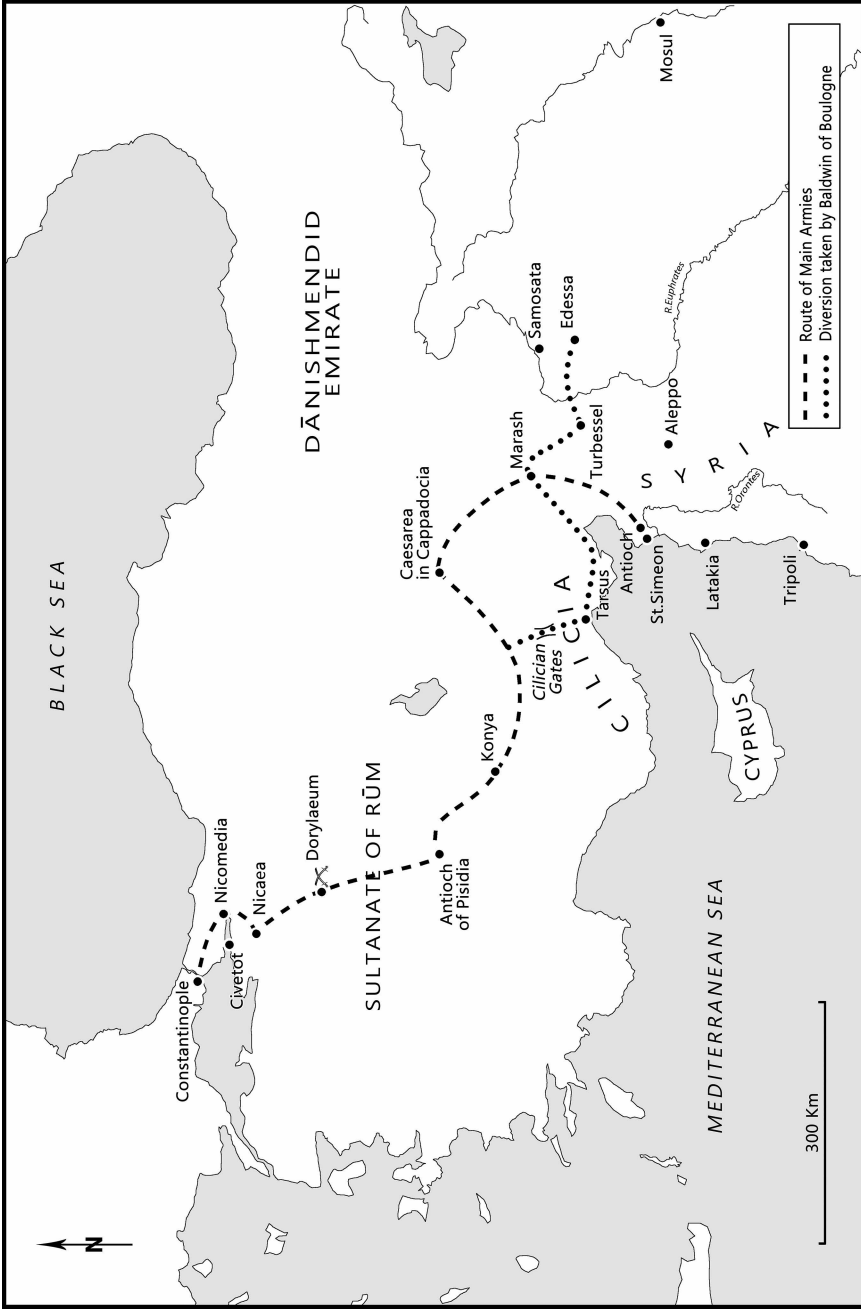
A note on translations

There is a wealth of primary evidence for the period 1095 to 1118, and it is used extensively in this account of Baldwin's career. For languages other than Latin, the study is dependent on the translations of others. However, all Latin quotations have been translated by the author, and detailed references are given in the end notes to enable the original texts to be consulted. Hence the original Latin will be found in the chapters or notes only where the source is particularly hard to access or where existing English translations are contested.

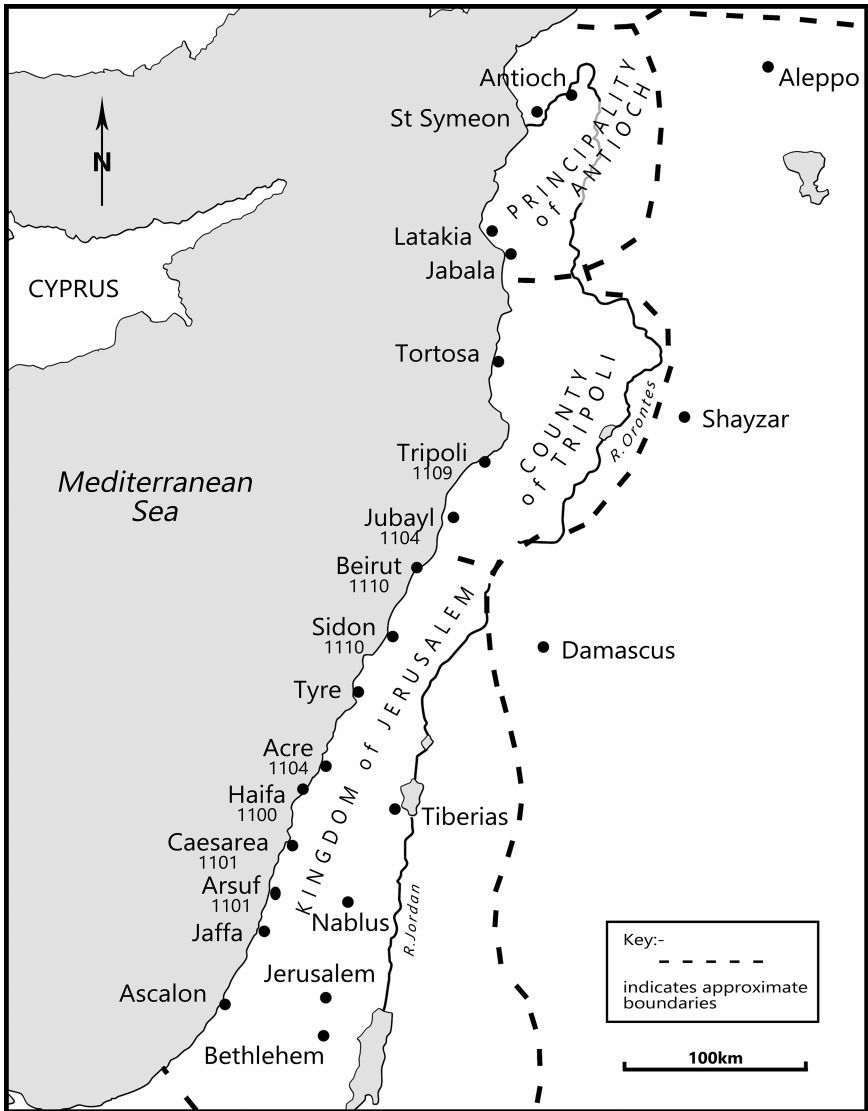
Maps



Map 1 Lotharingia to Constantinople, 1096



Map 2 Constantinople to Edessa, 1097



Map 3 The conquest of the littoral, 1100–1118



Map 4 The crusader states in 1118

1 First Crusader

Baldwin of Boulogne was a crusader who became the first Latin count of Edessa and then the first Latin king of Jerusalem, a realm that he ruled for almost eighteen years. These would be outstanding achievements for any man, but for someone who was the youngest of three brothers and whose prospects at birth and as a youth were correspondingly modest, they suggest extraordinary strength of character as well as a modicum of good fortune. The balance between these assets will emerge from an investigation of his life and rule. Inevitably, however, the enquiry must begin with Baldwin's background and early years, a period for which the documentary sources are sparse and sometimes contradictory. A fair amount of what follows, therefore, is necessarily conjectural.

Baldwin the younger son

Baldwin was born in the early 1060s, the youngest of three sons of Eustace II, count of Boulogne, and Ida of Bouillon.¹ Both Eustace II and Ida were prominent members of the northern European nobility. Eustace II of Boulogne (c. 1015–1087) fought alongside William of Normandy at the battle of Hastings in 1066 and received lands in England to add to his Norman territory. When he died his eldest son became Eustace III, count of Boulogne, and his future was to be Anglo-Norman.² Eustace II married Ida of Bouillon (c. 1040–1113) at a date before 1049, and it was through Ida that their second son, Godfrey, inherited lands in Lotharingia from Ida's brother Godfrey III 'the Hunchback', who was childless. Ida was pious and charitable, involved in founding several religious houses, and also, evidently, an educated woman and a powerful personality whose influence over her sons' upbringing and education was strong.³ She corresponded with a number of prominent clerics, and one of them, at least, Anselm, abbot of Bec and later archbishop of Canterbury, knew her sons personally and may even have been involved in their education.⁴

As was frequently the fate of a third or younger son, Baldwin was brought up in the expectation of a career in the Church. The later chronicler William of Tyre wrote of him: 'In his adolescence he was appropriately educated in the liberal arts and became, it is said, a cleric, obtaining benefices, that are commonly called prebends, in Reims, Cambrai and Liège, thanks to the nobility that made him

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uniquely outstanding.⁵ Baldwin's 'nobility' referred to his lineage and family connections, and it is probable that his brother Godfrey influenced his preferment. Notably, we do not have any other information about Baldwin's clerical career, and William indicated that his source was hearsay. However, Albert of Aachen, writing in the first two decades of the twelfth century, reported that Baldwin won a theological argument with the patriarch Daibert since he was 'a man instructed in letters'.⁶ The witness who knew Baldwin best, Fulcher of Chartres, appears simply to have seen no need to explain the background of his patron.

William of Tyre went on to say: 'At length, for reasons obscure to us, he laid aside his clerical dress and took up military arms, becoming a knight.' Hans Eberhard Mayer has conjectured that William's claim was disingenuous, that Baldwin's reasons were rooted in the Gregorian reform movement and papal condemnation of pluralism. According to this scenario, the bishop of Cambrai insisted on his priests relinquishing all but one prebend, while his opponents protested that one prebend would not suffice to support the incumbent. Baldwin therefore opted for a secular career. Mayer speculated that William suppressed his knowledge of Baldwin's motivation because he himself held multiple prebends. There is no real evidence for this theory, but it seems unlikely that Baldwin rejected a career as a cleric, where he had inadequate means but real expectations of advancement, in favour of life as a landless knight without prospects. An alternative explanation is possible, according to which Baldwin was the chosen heir – perhaps heir presumptive – of his childless elder brother, Godfrey. Godfrey was more fortunate than many second sons and had inherited his maternal uncle's title and substantial landholdings in Lower Lotharingia. The uncle died in 1076, but Godfrey's title was not secure until over a decade later, during which time he had fought a long war of succession, gradually claiming his inheritance by negotiation and by force of arms.

There is some evidence that Godfrey also fought for Emperor Henry IV in Italy between 1081 and 1084. According to William of Malmesbury, writing in the 1120s, Godfrey fell critically ill in the summer of 1084 when he was part of Henry IV's army besieging Rome, and as a result he took a vow to go on the crusade.⁷ William was not always a reliable witness: his account of events in the East was taken mainly from Fulcher of Chartres, and his information about Godfrey's ancestry and career before the crusade was written in light of Godfrey's elevation to ruler of Jerusalem. Doubt has been cast on whether Godfrey was present at the siege of Rome at all: Alan Murray pointed out that 'local sources attest to [Godfrey's] activity in Lotharingia during this period'; however, it is not necessary to assume that Godfrey fought during the whole period from 1081 to 1084, only that he took part in the siege of Rome, for which there is some support in Albert of Aachen's remark in relation to an epidemic that occurred outside Antioch during the First Crusade that Godfrey left the camp, 'recalling that he had suffered from a very similar illness when he was on an expedition with King Henry IV'.⁸ Also, the idea that the 'Jerusalem journey', meaning the First Crusade, was rumoured in the 1080s must be discounted, but that is not, in fact, what William wrote. He claimed that Godfrey contracted a quartan fever (*febrim quartanam iniit*). Generally,

historians of medicine frown on ‘retro-diagnosis’, but in this case a quartan fever had been recognised for some 1,500 years, and it is now known to be caused by the parasite *Plasmodium malaria*, carried by mosquitoes and prevalent outside Rome until the marshes were drained in the twentieth century. It is, moreover, the strain of the disease least likely to prove fatal, and it can last for the lifespan of its human host, sometimes recrudescing after many years of dormancy. After discussing several possible causes, including ‘cruel mists exhaled by the river Tiber in the early morning’, William continued, ‘Nevertheless, whatever happened, it is certain that he was never free from the trouble of a continual but slow fever until, hearing a rumour of the Jerusalem journey, he vowed he would go there if God favoured him and granted him health.’ Straight away the duke recovered his health and strength, and so ‘he was the first or among the first to go to Jerusalem’. Thus, Godfrey contracted a chronic and debilitating disease in 1084, but did not make a recovery until sometime later when he made a vow to go on pilgrimage.⁹ How long after he started to suffer from feverish outbreaks Godfrey made his vow cannot be known, but it is unlikely to have been as late as the end of 1095, which is when reports of Urban’s speech at Clermont reached Lotharingia. William of Malmesbury may have conflated a more general vow, made in the 1080s, to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem at some unspecified future date, with Godfrey’s response to the preaching of the crusade.

Assuming that Godfrey planned to lead a major pilgrimage, it could only be undertaken once he had secured his position in Lotharingia and mustered resources. Since he was unmarried and had no heir, this could be why he summoned his younger brother to be groomed for the dukedom, to inherit if Godfrey died while on pilgrimage. Godfrey’s prayer for recovery from illness may have included a vow of chastity, at least until his pilgrimage was accomplished. His brother could stay behind and assume the dynastic responsibility of producing sons. If this was the reason behind Baldwin’s change of career, then it took place by 1086, when Baldwin was recorded as fighting alongside his brothers at the siege of Stenay to defend Godfrey’s inheritance rights. That he was fighting as a knight is a strong indication that he was at least sixteen at the time and also that his early education, like his brothers’, included training in horsemanship, weaponry and other chivalric pursuits. It is probable that Baldwin left his clerical career behind him with relief, for nothing about his later life suggests more than conventional piety, while he would prove to be an effective warrior and secular ruler.

At some point between leaving the Church and departing on the First Crusade Baldwin married: ‘And then as time went on he took a wife from England, a distinguished and noble lady called Godevere.’¹⁰ Godevere, who was also known as Godehilde, was the daughter of the Norman lord Ralph II of Tosny, who had fought with William the Conqueror in 1066 and had subsequently been rewarded with extensive landholdings in England. Although his bride was not an heiress, the connection gave Baldwin an entrée into a network of powerful families within the Anglo-Norman world that included his eldest brother, Eustace, who may well have played a part in securing Baldwin’s marriage. On the surface it was a marriage more advantageous to Baldwin than to Godevere or the powerful Tosny

4 *First Crusader*

clan: Mayer offers Baldwin's status as *litteratus* as the prize, arguing in circular fashion that it was an early sign that the nobility no longer considered education *infra dig*. It is more likely that Baldwin was Godfrey's designated heir and thus had more concrete prospects. The date of the marriage is not known, although there is an indication in Orderic Vitalis that he was residing with his Norman in-laws early in 1090.¹¹

There is then a gap in documentary evidence until the mid-1090s, by which time Baldwin appears to have returned to establish a presence in Lotharingia. Godfrey and their mother, Ida, were in the process of selling or giving their lands to the Church, and Baldwin appeared among the witnesses to a number of charters and in two other documents associated directly with his brother Godfrey. Alan Murray has argued from this, and from the almost complete absence of Eustace from the same documents, that on the eve of the First Crusade Baldwin was recognised as Godfrey's heir in Lotharingia, probably because Eustace, as a vassal of the king of France, would have proved unacceptable to the German monarchy or the clergy. Baldwin's marriage is also relevant because Godfrey had not married, and therefore his brother would be responsible for perpetuating the dynasty. There is also evidence among these documents that it was important for Baldwin's recognition as Godfrey's heir to be shared by key personnel who were part of Godfrey's crusading army. A charter for the abbey of Nivelles, for example, associated Godfrey and his brother Baldwin as principals and was witnessed by lords and knights from the region of Ardennes who were to go with them on crusade: Cono, count of Montaigu; Warner, count of Grez; Henry of Esch; Henry's brother Godfrey of Esch; Heribrand of Bouillon; Walter of Bouillon.¹²

The First Crusade

The charter was part of the liquidation of Godfrey's Ardennes-Bouillon inheritance that he undertook to finance his crusade. It is not known at what point Godfrey made the decision to join the crusading armies: he did not attend the papal council of Clermont in November 1095 following which Urban II had announced the departure nine months thence of an expedition for the relief of the Eastern Church and the liberation of Jerusalem. William of Malmesbury's account of Godfrey's illness during the siege of Rome compressed events and appeared to link Godfrey's response to the crusade appeal directly with a vow in fact taken over a decade before. Nevertheless, it is very possible that at some time, perhaps when he was very ill, Godfrey vowed to undertake the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He may also, then or previously, have taken a vow of celibacy and/or chastity. One of the few things about Godfrey that seems to be securely established is that – unusually for the time and especially for a substantial landholder – he never married. He was born in 'the third quarter of the eleventh century', and before Baldwin (born in the 1060s), so he was certainly of an age to marry by 1084.¹³ If he had indeed vowed to devote his life to God, then it explains why, as the evidence suggests, he had designated Baldwin as his heir in the 1080s.

It does not necessarily explain why Baldwin decided or consented to accompany him. Genuine piety should not be discounted, of course: although Baldwin had turned his back on life as a churchman, he nonetheless lived in an age of unquestioning Christian devotion. A taste for adventure was also a probable factor, in view of his later exploits on crusade. A major reason, from the later evidence, seems to have been personal ambition and the desire to carve out a territory for himself. Most significantly, though, the whole-hearted commitment of Godfrey and Ida to the forthcoming expedition, which was clearly on a much greater and more costly scale than any previous plan to travel to Jerusalem that Godfrey may have conceived, led them to dispose of all their major landholdings to finance the crusade and in return for the Church's protection, as the charter evidence shows. This meant that Baldwin – whatever his own feelings, which, of course, we cannot know – now had no assured future in the West but was obliged to travel east as his brother's dependant and lieutenant. Rather ironically, after supporting Godfrey in the disposition of Godfrey's lands in Lotharingia, including the territory's final dissolution to settle disputes and raise funds in preparation for the expedition to the East, Baldwin had rendered himself the 'landless younger son' once identified and widely accepted to be a significant component of the crusading armies.¹⁴ Jonathan Riley-Smith, after calculating the funds necessary to sustain a knight and his household on a long campaign, comprehensively dismissed the idea that such men were a major part of the crusading armies, but Baldwin was in fact an exception: he appears to have been funded entirely by his brother Godfrey, and this must be taken into account when considering his motivation for and activities on the crusade. A further indication that Baldwin may have seen his future in the East is that he took with him his wife, Godehilde/Godevere. By contrast, the elder brother, Eustace, who also went on the crusade, left his wife, Mary of Scotland, to administer his estates. He apparently had no need to mortgage or sell these lands, and so he probably always intended to return to them, as indeed he did after the battle of Ascalon in 1099. Eustace, who apparently self-identified as Norman rather than Lotharingian, travelled to the Holy Land separately from his brothers; the best evidence suggests that he accompanied Robert of Normandy and Robert II of Flanders.¹⁵

The journey to Constantinople

Godfrey and Baldwin set out together on the overland route, following the river valleys: first the Rhine and then cutting across to the Danube. Our only detailed source for their journey is Albert of Aachen, who devoted the second book of his *Historia Ierosolimitana* to it. Albert was writing in the first quarter of the twelfth century and probably recording the information in this book as it arrived in Aachen: this is the only reasonable explanation for the level of detail in his account of the journey from the Ardennes to Constantinople. He himself wrote in his prologue that he 'decided to commend to posterity at least some of the things which were made known to me by listening to those who had been there and from their reports'.¹⁶ Thus he was recording oral testimony from people who returned

to the Rhineland for one reason or another, but also, and especially for this stage of the crusade, we may conjecture that letters and despatches were sent regularly from the leading crusaders to their households and to the Church figures and institutions who had effectively sponsored their journeys, who were protecting their lands and supporting them by their prayers. The carriers of such messages may have been an additional source of oral information. It should be stressed that Albert's *Historia* is uniquely valuable because he did not use any of the other extant written accounts of the crusade and did not share their perspective, which was overwhelmingly French and papal. Instead he had his own bias, and, fortunately for the current project, this disposed him to focus his account on Godfrey, Baldwin and their companions.

The two brothers were accompanied by a large army, led by a group of kinsmen, vassals and allies who later formed the core of the *domus Godefridi*, the duke's household who assisted him in the government of the kingdom from 1099 to 1100 and were to be instrumental in securing Baldwin's succession in 1100. Albert of Aachen provided a list of these key men. Warner of Grez was listed first after Godfrey and his brother Baldwin and described as a kinsman of the duke. The degree of kinship is not known, but there is little doubt that Warner was a Lotharingian, and he was probably a vassal of the bishop of Liège. He enjoyed a high degree of trust and would act as deputy during Godfrey's last illness; then he led the group who supported Baldwin's right to inherit and seized the Tower of David after Godfrey died. Warner died only four days after Godfrey (22 July 1100). Baldwin of Bourcq was likewise a kinsman of Godfrey and Baldwin, and again the degree of kinship is uncertain. He later threw in his lot with the younger brother and accompanied Baldwin to Edessa. Baldwin entrusted the county of Edessa to him when he left to take up the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1100. After Baldwin I's death in 1118, Baldwin of Bourcq would succeed him as king of Jerusalem.¹⁷

Count Rainald III of Toul came next in the list, followed by his younger brother, Peter of Astenois (or Dampierre). Rainald and Peter were sons of Count Frederick I of Astenois, another Bouillon/Boulogne kinsman. Both brothers participated with Baldwin in the conquest of Edessa, but then they rejoined the main army besieging Antioch. They returned to Upper Lotharingia after the crusade. Dodo lord of Cons, from the Ardennes, had a relatively undistinguished crusading career; he was accompanied by his wife, Hadwida. Two more brothers completed this list of the closest circle around Godfrey: Henry and Godfrey of Esch. Henry was later described by Albert of Aachen as *unus de collateralibus ducis Godefridi*, which Murray interprets as another kinsman, but it is probably better translated as 'one of Duke Godfrey's associates' or 'confidants'. Both brothers were to participate in the siege of Antioch; Henry died of disease at Turbessel in late summer 1098, and Godfrey's fate is not known.¹⁸

This was only the core of the army that left with Godfrey and Baldwin in August 1096. The names of some lesser lords and knights emerge later as the expedition progressed, and the names of others remain unknown. Each of them was accompanied by a small group, possibly some family members but certainly